

9
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
LIBRARY EXTENSION PUBLICATION

VOL. VII

OCTOBER, 1940

NO. 1

THE UNITED STATES IN THE
WORLD CRISIS

ELEANOR SMITH GODFREY

*Of the Library of the University of North Carolina
and*

JAMES LOGAN GODFREY

Of the Department of History in the University



*Published six times a year, October, January, April, May, June, and July,
by the University of North Carolina Press. Entered as second-class
matter February 5, 1926, under the act of August 24, 1912.
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

COPYRIGHT, 1940, BY

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

HOW TO USE THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LIBRARY

The Extension Library, established to bring to the citizens of North Carolina and other states some of the advantages available to residents of the University, offers (1) study outlines based on books of special interest, and (2) the loan of these books to non-residents. To meet the growing demand for these privileges, the study outlines issued as *Library Extension Publications*, listed below, and the outlines issued as *Extension Bulletins*, listed on the back page, have been prepared by members of the University faculty and others connected with the University.

TERMS FOR REGISTERING

The registration fee for the study outlines listed above is \$7.00 in North Carolina, \$10.00 elsewhere. For this fee ten copies of the program are supplied, and all necessary Special References for preparing papers are loaned. The References will be sent two or three weeks in advance of each meeting, and may be kept until the meeting is over. The clubs are requested to submit the dates of their meetings when they register, so that the material for each date may be reserved. Sometimes it is necessary to change the consecutive order of the chapters when the demand is greater than the supply of books, but this is never done if there is a sequence of interest connecting the chapters. For this reason registered clubs are requested not to print their yearbooks with the dates of programs before having their schedules confirmed by this office. Cooperation on the part of clubs in this matter is appreciated.

For twenty-five cents non-registered clubs or individuals may borrow material selected from the study outlines for one topic; or for fifty cents one may borrow books for an entire chapter.

TERMS FOR BORROWING BOOKS

Books may also be borrowed for three weeks or longer by correspondence students, extension classes, teachers, pupils, superintendents, principals or general readers.

For a fee of ten cents one book may be borrowed at one time for three weeks; for twenty-five cents three books may be borrowed at one time for three weeks, provided they are not books needed for the study clubs.

Very new books not in the Extension Library collection may be borrowed through the Bull's Head Bookshop for twenty-five cents each for two weeks.

In all cases the borrower pays transportation cost both ways.

Renewal fee is ten cents per week. Overdues, five cents per day.

Always state if material is for club, school or general reading.

Please address all communications to

THE UNIVERSITY EXTENSION LIBRARY

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

LIBRARY EXTENSION PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME I

- *1. October, 1934. *The Southern Garden*. W. L. Hunt.
2. January, 1935. *Adventures in Reading, Seventh Series*. C. S. Love.
3. April, 1935. *Below the Potomac*. M. N. Bond.
4. May, 1935. *Europe in Transition*. Phillips Russell & C. M. Russell.
5. June, 1935. *Other People's Lives, Fourth Series*. C. S. Love.
6. July, 1935. *The Story of Books*. R. B. Downs.

VOLUME II

1. October, 1935. *Adventures with Music and Musicians*. A. D. McCall.
2. January, 1936. *Famous Women of Yesterday and Today*. Revised Edition. C. S. Love.
3. April, 1936. *Adventures in Reading, Eighth Series*. M. N. Bond.
4. May, 1936. *Other People's Lives, Fifth Series*. C. S. Love.
5. June, 1936. *Adventures in Reading, Ninth Series*. A. B. Adams.
6. July, 1936. *Modern Plays and Playwrights*. C. M. Russell.

VOLUME III

1. October, 1936. *Adventures Around the World*. Lucile Kelling.
- *2. January, 1937. *The Modern Woman*. E. C. Baity.
3. April, 1937. *Literary Backgrounds of Present Day Germany*. A. E. Zucker and W. P. Friederich.
4. May, 1937. *India in Revolution*. E. E. and E. E. Ericson.
5. June, 1937. *Adventures in Reading, Tenth Series*. A. B. Adams.
6. July, 1937. *The Theatre Today*. M. G. Holmes.

VOLUME IV

1. October, 1937. *Other People's Lives, Sixth Series*. C. S. Love.
2. January, 1938. *American Humor*. E. C. Downs & R. B. Downs.
3. April, 1938. *Contemporary Poetry*. Lucile Kelling.
4. May, 1938. *Building and Furnishing a Home*. E. C. Baity.
- *5. June, 1938. *Adventures in Reading, Eleventh Series*. A. B. Adams.
6. July, 1938. *Famous Women of Yesterday and Today*. Third Edition. C. S. Love.

VOLUME V

1. October, 1938. *Political Problems in Present-Day Europe. First Series*. Werner P. Friederich.
2. January, 1939. *Political Problems in Present-Day Europe. Second Series*. C. B. Robson, C. H. Pegg, A. B. Dugan, and J. L. Godfrey.
3. April, 1939. *Adventures in Reading, Twelfth Series*. A. B. Adams.
4. May, 1939. *The Modern Woman's Bookshelf*. E. C. Baity.
5. June, 1939. *Adventures Around the World, Second Series*. Lucile Kelling.
6. July, 1939. *At Home with the Fine Arts*. M. G. Holmes.

* Out of print. Available only as loan.

247531

VOLUME VI

1. October, 1939. *The New Frontier*. W. W. Drake.
2. January, 1940. *United States Mural; a Study of Regional Novels*. Lucile Kelling.
3. April, 1940. *Other People's Lives, Seventh Series*. C. S. Love.
4. May, 1940. *Adventures in Reading, Thirteenth Series*. A. B. Adams.
5. June, 1940. *Adventures with Opera*. A. D. McCall.
6. July, 1940. *Arts and Crafts in Georgian England*. M. N. Bond.
Single copies, 50 cents each; in North Carolina, 25 cents.
Advance subscription per volume, \$2.00; to residents of North Carolina, \$1.00. Copies sent on approval.

VOLUME VII

1. October, 1940. *The United States in the World Crisis*. E. S. and J. L. Godfrey.
2. January, 1941. Programs on South America; North Carolina; The
3. April, 1941. Movies; Woman's Unfinished Business; Adven-
4. May, 1941. tures in Reading, 14th Series; Other People's
5. June, 1941. Lives, No. 8, are in preparation and will be as-
6. July, 1941. signed to dates as they are ready for publication.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
HOW TO USE THE EXTENSION LIBRARY.....	2
STUDY OUTLINES—LIBRARY EXTENSION PUBLICATIONS.....	3
PREFACE	6
CHAPTER I. CALL FOR ACTION.....	7
CHAPTER II. FROM WAR TO WAR.....	10
CHAPTER III. UNDER THE SWASTIKA.....	13
CHAPTER IV. REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY EUROPE.....	15
CHAPTER V. THE FAILURE OF FRANCE.....	17
CHAPTER VI. THE BRITISH BLUNDERS.....	20
CHAPTER VII. A GOOD NEIGHBOR GOES CALLING.....	22
CHAPTER VIII. WILL THEY CO-OPERATE?.....	24
CHAPTER IX. JAPANESE SUN OVER CHINA.....	26
CHAPTER X. THE UNITED STATES MUST DECIDE.....	28
CHAPTER XI. PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE.....	30
CHAPTER XII. THE CHALLENGE—AS SOME SEE IT.....	32
SPECIAL REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	34
DIRECTORY OF PUBLISHERS.....	35
ADDITIONAL READING BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	36
STUDY OUTLINES—EXTENSION BULLETINS.....	<i>Inside Front Cover</i>
EXTENSION BULLETINS, NOT STUDY OUTLINES.....	<i>Inside Back Cover</i>

PREFACE

Every day's headlines, every news broadcast brings word from the war-torn continents to the east and west of us. No longer can the United States afford to ignore the dangers which confront her on every hand. No matter how much we would prefer a peaceful policy pursued in a sane and reasonable world, every day more Americans are coming to realize that peace may not be within our choice in a world of aggression and irrational brutality. Regardless of our views on these matters, however, it behooves every thinking American to inform himself on the background of the conflicts east and west, on the real and fundamental issues involved, and on the possibilities of danger for us and our neighbors to the south.

IMPORTANT NOTE

The additional readings listed at the end of each chapter have been kept to a minimum and in each case are recommended as acceptable substitutes if the other books are not available.

CALL FOR ACTION

It is only recently, since the fall of the Low countries and France to be exact, that American public opinion has been greatly aroused over the actual danger in which this country seems to find itself. As we look back on it now it seems strange that Hitler has been so underrated, that the true nature of revolutionary fascism has been so long misunderstood. The fault lies partly with our leaders, especially our intellectuals—writers that scholars—who might logically have been expected to play a large part in informing the public.

Something was done, and yet one of the most distinguished writers, poets and scholars of our day, Archibald MacLeish, has seen fit to take his fellow intellectuals to task on that score. In other days, he feels, writers would not have neglected this duty. Today, unfortunately, they have lost the feeling of responsibility for what goes on in the world and thus have not felt it necessary to use their pen outside their own narrow fields. Yet they must bear part of the blame if their world which has fostered and protected them goes to pieces while they are concerned with "higher things." Mr. MacLeish's little book is a direct challenge not only to scholars but to all intelligent Americans, urging them to wake up and realize that what is happening in the world today is very much their business.

Lewis Mumford can hardly have been one of the writers whom MacLeish had in mind in writing his book, for Mumford was one of the first and most vigorous to use his pen to attack the dictators and urge America to some form of action. The very title of his book *Men Must Act* is indicative of the determination he injects into his writing. Since it was written before the outbreak of hostilities, some of his program for non-intercourse with fascist nations must perhaps be modified, yet the skill with which he clears away false reasoning, the energy with which he urges action, and his spirit of confidence in democracy if it dares to take a positive stand, are still most valuable.

Another distinguished American has addressed his plea to the American people. As United States Ambassador to France, William C. Bullitt was in an excellent position to obtain an accurate view of European affairs. When we hear his plea for real-

ization of the threat to America from Europe and his call for prompt and vigorous rearmament we are hearing the voice not of an alarmist but of a responsible and well informed statesman. Whether we agree or not, Americans will do well to ponder his words.

1. THE FAILURE OF INTELLECTUAL LEADERSHIP

The Irresponsibles, by Archibald MacLeish

The author is concerned with why the intellectual leaders of our country have not defended themselves and the civilization they represent against the forces of fascism. He thinks that the primary reason is because most of them felt that Europe's troubles were no concern of theirs. Do you think that this same feeling of apathy and unconcern was reflected generally in the American people? Or do you agree that it should be of some concern? How does the author explain his position?

Explain the essential nature of the struggle going on in the world. Note especially the characterization of it as a revolution produced by a condition in men's minds.

Discuss the questions and answers on pages 19-20 as to why nothing was done. Do you believe that they apply generally?

Outline the theory explaining the lack of responsibility among scholars. Do you agree with this point of view?

Comment on the usefulness of this and similar books addressed to different groups.

2. SALVATION THROUGH ACTION

Men Must Act, by Lewis Mumford

Use this book as an introduction to the study of fascism in the world today and as a basis for a plea for intelligent study of the question.

Discuss Mumford's six marks of fascism. You will want to reconsider them later.

Note the point (pp 42, 52) that the fundamental values of life are altered in a fascist state. What are the arguments in support of this thesis?

Summarize the arguments leading up to the statement that fascism must reduce all the world to its condition and its set of values or fall. Do you think recent history bears this out?

Is the denunciation of the Munich agreement too severe?

Sketch Mumford's discussion of collectivism and isolation. Do you think that his policy of non-intercourse has been made out-of-date by the outbreak of war, or merely needs modification?

Do Mumford's arguments on conscription still hold good? What of those fifth-columnists?

Do you agree with Mumford's general thesis of the need for a strong stand against the dictators?

3. THE TESTIMONY OF AN EYE-WITNESS

Report to the American People, by William C. Bullitt

Outline (from the Foreword) the circumstances under which this speech was given.

Why does the author feel that speed is essential in rearmament?

What do you think of the comparison between the positions of France after Munich and the United States today? Of the comparison between the Atlantic and the Maginot line?

What does the author think is the rôle of the fifth-columnists? How are they aided by sincere people?

What do you think of Ambassador Bullitt's general position.

FROM WAR TO WAR

During the last few years, especially after the outbreak of World War II, a strong wave of pessimism and cynicism swept over America. Everyone was asking what it was all about this time. There had been one "war to end war," one "war to make the world safe for democracy," yet it had seemingly done neither. The world was in a worse condition than ever before. Was any war worth while?

Such an unfortunate attitude of defeatism was largely the result of the disillusion which followed the extravagant hopes for the Versailles Treaty. That treaty, while better than most treaties following a long and bitter war, did have imperfections which, combined with the moral and physical exhaustion of most of Europe, produced a world not at all like that which its idealistic supporters hoped for. This fact, combined with the strong sentiment for peace, the rankling of war debts, and the skilful propaganda of the fascist nations tended to give Americans a strong aversion for European affairs and a determination to stay out of them.

Recently, however, ruthless aggression abroad has awakened a new idealism and a growing realization that Europe may not be let alone. We need, therefore, to reexamine the failures of the post-war period in order to understand how Europe got into such a bad situation and what the real issues are in the present war. Mr. Millis has done this for us in his *Why Europe Fights*. With little bias and a clear interesting narrative he presents the entire history of Europe from war to war. From his book one can understand why the Versailles settlement was allowed to crumble and why so little was done to stop the dictators.

Written by a group of men at Oxford University, the other book in this chapter, *Background and Issues of the War*, covers nearly the same ground in shorter space and from a different point of view. The emphasis is upon ideas and trends rather than upon facts. One would naturally expect the English bias, yet these essays are remarkable for their calm, reasoned tone. Taken together these two books form a fairly complete background for understanding the whys and wherefores of the present war.

1. THE TWENTY YEAR PAUSE

Why Europe Fights, by Walter Millis

Would you say that the troubles of Europe are caused by the Treaty of Versailles, or by the fact that its three pillars (p. 131) were allowed to fall?

What were the cracks in the new world order? What part did America play in widening or healing them?

Discuss Millis' statement (p. 67) that the peace of the 1920's was the peace of the French army and its allies in Eastern Europe. Would you agree that the rise of the German army destroyed the effectiveness of the French army as a force for peace?

Show how the fate of Manchuria, Ethiopia and Spain paved the way for the fate of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Comment on Hitler's diplomatic triumphs and the strategy of "sudden movements, so abrupt as to catch the other powers off guard, not quite serious enough for any one of them to threaten war to prevent it, but at the same time paving the way for another step that would be more serious still."

The Munich agreement has been almost unanimously condemned in the United States. What do you think of Mr. Millis' presentation of the case for Mr. Chamberlain?

Discuss carefully the analysis of the reasons for this war. Note again that the stress is laid upon men and ideas and types of government rather than on economic and military reasons.

2. THE CASE FOR ENGLAND

Background and Issues of the War, by H. A. L. Fisher, and others

This book is composed of six essays first delivered as lectures at Oxford University. The discussion might be divided into six corresponding parts with a general conclusion.

Contrast Mr. Fisher's point of view on "war to war" history with that contained in the official German propaganda.

With what arguments does Mr. Lindsay attack absolute pacifism? What do you think of the analogy of the army to the police force? In what way did the League fail because it did too much, in what way because it did too little?

Mr. Millis states that the settlement in the Versailles Treaty collapsed because its provisions were not carried out. Mr. Murray says that the League failed because the Covenant was not carried out. Why was this so?

Do you think Mr. Ensor's arguments that Hitler is the result of deep tendencies in the German nation good ones?

Mr. Nicolson, like several authors already discussed, believes that wars are caused not by economic and political rivalries but by states of mind. Outline what he believes to be the states of mind and the causes be-

hind the states of mind which produced the present war. Does this differ from any previous views of other authors? Quote or summarize from p. 117 beginning "Hitler believes—" to the end of the paragraph.

Do you agree with Mr. Brierly that the "Laws of War" have much effect in practice?

Additional Reading:

Twenty Years' Armistice, 1918-1938, by William A. Orton.

What Has Happened to Europe, by G. T. Garratt.

Europe Down-stream, by Leonard O. Mosley.

Inside Europe, by John Gunther. 1940 war edition.

UNDER THE SWASTIKA

For a quarter of a century, historians and others interested in international affairs have tried unsuccessfully to come to some agreement concerning the responsibility for the World War of 1914-1918. There is not likely to be much controversy over the responsibility for the World War of 1939—. Germany, since the rise of Hitler to power in 1933, has possessed a revolutionary pattern which she has wished to impose upon as much of the world as might conceivably be subject to her influence.

Our present attention should be centered upon the intellectual and emotional conditions of the Germans out of which has developed this revolution against the older forms of society. With what resources does Germany fight? From what resources does she arm herself? What are apt to be the strong and weak points in the internal support of the "war against the West"?

It has been the tragedy of the peoples and the leaders of the democracies completely to misunderstand the direction in which fascism was moving and the power with which it moved. Until there is a comprehension of the meaning of these threats, no answers to them can be formulated that will satisfy the minds of our people. Americans more than ever should be interested in what is going on inside Germany.

1. LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

Into the Darkness, by Lothrop Stoddard

Mr. Stoddard's personal reactions to his journey through Germany and his arrival in Berlin should be studied for the psychological implications of the struggle in Europe.

Do you think the author was justified in his assertion that the Germans detested the war? What is the nature of his proof?

What evidence is introduced concerning the food shortage in Germany? Shortages of other necessities? Does the author appreciate the discipline of the German people?

In what ways are the powers of the government made evident in agriculture? labor? labor service?

Are the social service features of the government to be admired or condemned? How do they support the idea of national unity?

Does the author give you a different picture of Hitler?

What part is played by the Nazi party?

Does the author intimate that there are certain subjects which a correspondent cannot discuss? Do you feel that Stoddard's attempt to be objective increased your willingness to accept his evidence?

2. THE REVOLUTION OF SOLDIERS

They Wanted War, by Otto Tolischus

Bring out the point of view of this book in regard to Hitler's personality.

Stress again the idea of world revolution. Quote especially p. 39-40 "The battle now being fought . . . future shape of the world."

State the economic, political and military consequences of a German victory, as Mr. Tolischus sees them. How does the recent Japanese military alliance affect the situation?

In the section on the rearming of the Reich, stress the fifth-column activities. Show how "total" regimentation—by means of the press, artistic life, religion, economic life, political life and control of the army by the civilian state—necessarily preceded "total" war.

Outline the program for women. What do you as a woman think of it?

The last section contains many quotations from official German propaganda concerning the outbreak of war. What do you think of it? How has the book changed your impressions of Germany and the war?

Additional Reading:

Hitler and I, by Otto Strasser.

The Third Reich, by Henri Lichtenberger.

The German Octopus, by Henry C. Wolfe.

The House that Hitler Built, by S. H. Roberts.

REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS IN TWENTIETH
CENTURY EUROPE

Fascism was not the first revolution in twentieth century Europe. To the east of Germany, in the vast reaches of Russia, a revolution had brought the communists to power in 1917 while the Allies and Germany were still fighting on the Western Front. During the first few years of its development, this revolution, too, greatly threatened the stability of the democratic, capitalistic world. But gradually it turned inward upon itself and lost much of its missionary character. The world heaved a sigh of relief and many countries entered into officially friendly yet actually strained relationships with the government of the Soviets.

As the revolution in Germany developed a decade later, it was represented as a counter-revolution against bolshevism in Europe. From the expressed hatred of the Nazi for the communist, the democrat drew unwarranted comfort. That the events of time and opportunity would one day draw these two movements together into a policy of coöperation was held to be impossible. The one thing that was overlooked was that each revolution was opportunistic and not likely to allow benefits to escape through a lack of mutual accommodation.

Hermann Rauschning was a former friend of Hitler and a member of the Nazi Party. As President of the Senate at Danzig he had many opportunities to discuss policies with his leader in private conversations. He gives surprisingly frank testimony on the revolutionary elements of the Nazi movement. Of the communist revolution and of how the German pact was brought about we have the account of Henry C. Wolfe, a journalist of long experience. This pact, which so completely upset the calculations of the western world, holds within itself one element of hope for the democracies: since it was based on opportunism it may be undone by opportunism.

1. THE WAR ON WESTERN CULTURE

The Voice of Destruction, by Hermann Rauschning

What is Hitler's conception of the nature and purpose of war?

Observe carefully the biological concept in the Hitler movement.

Does Christianity play any part in Hitler's conception of the true German?

Is Hitler interested in North and South America?

What is Hitler's attitude toward the bourgeoisie and democracy?

What formulas does Hitler have for leading the masses? What is his conception of the Jew?

Create for yourself an estimation of Hitler's personality.

2. THE REVOLUTION THAT LOST ITS WAY

The Imperial Soviets, by Henry C. Wolfe

In what ways does Wolfe think Germany and Russia have a natural basis for coöperation?

Does the author believe that Russia is still working in the direction of a world revolution? Is there danger of a fusion of the Communist and Nazi revolutions?

In what sense was the Munich crisis a turning point for Russia in her diplomatic relations with western Europe? To what extent did Litvinov typify pre-Munich policy?

What does the author think of Stalin's ability? Is he apt to be duped by Hitler?

Did the English treaty with Poland play into Russia's hand?

What attitude does Wolfe take about a Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo axis?

Additional Reading:

Mein Kampf, by Adolf Hitler.

The Revolution of Nihilism, by Hermann Rauschning.

The March of Fascism, by H. S. Raushenbush.

THE FAILURE OF FRANCE

No event in modern history holds the poignancy that surrounds the fall of France. No country on the continent of Europe possessed so richly the historical tradition of national pride and greatness that had long accompanied the name of France. Certainly no country had made richer contributions to the humane portions of western culture than had this stricken nation.

That France has fallen should sadden us all; but the manner in which she fell should cause us the deepest alarm. Americans should read there the tragedy of divided opinion, of class arrayed against class, and of hope in conflict with reality. France had prepared her destruction through failure to create and use the intense patriotic energy of which her people had so often proved themselves capable; she had become the victim of a paralyzed national will which she had allowed to atrophy through non-use.

We have the accounts of three observers who saw France in her responses to the crisis that overwhelmed her. One, a native of France with a name well known in literature, has written with a vividness and lucidity so characteristic of his country of the accumulation of mistakes in the conduct of the war. The second, an American journalist, has analyzed for us the impact of the war upon the mind and personality of France. Both France and England in the spring of 1940 are the subject of the third book by the witty playwright, Clare Boothe. Through the eyes of this sprightly authoress we again see the results of indecision and unpreparedness. All of these writers possess an eloquence that usually can be found in the reports of those who have viewed tragic events; all offer the opportunity to learn through the sacrifices of others.

1. "WHAT HAPPENED TO FRANCE"

The Tragedy of France, by André Maurois

What seemed to be the prevailing attitudes in France in the years before the War? Among the military men? Among the political leaders?

How did the inefficiencies and misconceptions of September 1939-May 1940 hamper the possibilities of successful allied resistance?

Note carefully the political duel between Daladier and Reynaud and the consequences of personal politics in times of national danger.

Since civilians are involved in modern wars, what was the psychological impact of the German invasion on the French civilian population? Is bravery always enough?

Does the author seem to think that propaganda had any effect in creating distrust between England and France?

In the program which Maurois draws up to characterize the proper actions of a nation, can you find by implication the errors of which France has been guilty? Can we as a people find lessons in the tragic history of others?

2. THE TECHNIQUE OF THE "WAR OF NERVES"

The Strategy of Terror, by Edmond Taylor

This book goes a long way towards explaining two interrelated phenomena, the German technique of disuniting the enemy by propaganda and terrorizing him by continual crises, and the division of French public opinion which allowed such technique to be successful.

Quote the speech of the Hungarian Nazi (p. 51). It contains two ideas essential for understanding the Nazi success; first, that material strength is not as important as the will to use that strength; second, that fascism conquers by disarming the enemy, that is, by robbing him of his will to fight before the war starts. Add details from Mr. Taylor's narrative to show how this was done in France from Munich to the outbreak of the war.

How does Mrs. Taylor's diary differ from her husband's?

What effect did the declaration of war have on the state of mind of the French people?

What does America have to learn from this book? Here discuss Mr. Taylor's concluding pages (pp. 264-5).

3. A TRAGIC DRAMA

Europe in the Spring, by Clare Boothe

Does the author find the French attitude toward war a realistic one? Is there evidence of serious internal confusion?

In what sense was the construction of the Maginot line detrimental to French fighting morale?

Note carefully the evidences of the effect of impending defeat upon the psychology of the civilian groups.

In view of what has happened, does the testimony of the two American officers seem reliable?

What incidents of disunity between England and France are given?

Was Holland prepared to defend herself? What of her mental attitude?

Do the questions asked by "Mr. B—" have any relevancy for the United States?

What are the issues, according to Miss Boothe, with which we are confronted?

Additional Reading:

J'Accuse! The Men Who Betrayed France, by André Simone.

Which Way France? by Alexander Werth.

A good background book tracing the internal trouble of France from the Armistice to 1937.

Seven Mysteries of Europe, by Jules Romains, in *Saturday Evening Post*, Sept. 21, 28, Oct. 5, 1940, and later.

THE BRITISH BLUNDERS

That Germany caught England and France unprepared has become apparent to the entire world. Both materially and psychologically they were not ready for the war towards which Germany had been bending every effort for six years. In France, as we have seen, the unpreparedness was perhaps more psychological—the result of internal discord and moral defeatism. In England there was perhaps not so much spiritual disunion, though it was present there also, as there was unpreparedness in a military sense.

It seems incredible to many Americans that England with all her power and resources would allow herself to become so unprepared in the face of the German threat. Military preparations usually reflect foreign policy, however, and in order to understand the lack of armaments one must understand the fundamental bases of English policy. In the second half of his book, *Britain and France Between Two Wars*, Mr. Arnold Wolfers treats this problem at length. His sub-title, *Conflicting Strategies of Peace since Versailles*, reflects his opinion that both Britain and France wished for peace but were unable to agree on any consistent policy for achieving it.

John F. Kennedy's account of *Why England Slept* treats the problem not so much from the point of view of foreign policy as from that of public opinion. Year by year from 1933 this young son of the American ambassador to Britain traces the slowness of the British to realize the serious challenge to England implied in Hitler's rise, and the procrastination, delays and complacency of the English leaders. The author also points out the high motives of the English people in postponing rearmament—a deep pacifism, a desire to be fair to Germany, and a sincere belief on the part of the English people—though not of their leaders—that the League, the real hope of civilization, must not be injured by a return to large armaments. Unfortunately the world was not filled with such peaceful people, and England did not waken to the danger in time. With every day's bombings England is paying a heavy price for her long years of inaction.

1. THE POLICY OF PEACE AND APPEASEMENT

Britain and France Between Two Wars, by Arnold Wolfers

We are concerned primarily with the material on Britain beginning with page 201 and continuing to the end of the book. If there is time, however, the reader will find that the first part of the book dealing with France adds depth to the picture.

How did the problem of economic recovery and the policy of peace and appeasement combine to become the English objective in international relations after the war?

What is the meaning of the term "redress of legitimate grievances" as applied to English policy? How did it fit in with French policy? Why was England inclined to favor a strengthening of Germany?

Explain why England was unwilling to extend the commitments given in the Locarno Treaties to cover boundaries in central and Eastern Europe. Why was it in eastern Europe that trouble was more apt to develop?

Did England's policy of suspicion towards Russia seem a wise one? On what grounds?

In what way did the popularity of the League with the British public influence the attitude of the government toward Italy in the Ethiopian war?

Does the author convince you of his point that the French and British policies which should have supplemented each other were actually conflicting and competing policies from 1919 to 1938?

2. MEN WITHOUT ARMS

Why England Slept, by John F. Kennedy

List the "fundamental beliefs of the British regarding armaments" given in Chapter I. Do you think Americans share any of these beliefs?

What had the financial crisis of 1931-32 to do with the policy of armaments?

Why did the disarmament conference fail?

What effects did pacifism have on rearmament?

What finally caused the shift towards rearmament?

Note Winston Churchill's position. Call attention to the different opinion of him then and now.

What accounts for the delays and difficulties once rearmament was under way?

What do you think of the author's interpretation of the Munich agreement and the reasons behind it? What effect did Munich have upon the general attitude of the British people?

What may the United States learn from all this?

Additional Reading:

While England Slept, by Winston Churchill.

Ordeal in England, by Philip Gibbs.

For What Do We Fight? by Norman Angell.

A GOOD NEIGHBOR GOES CALLING

Despite the Monroe Doctrine—for over a century the basic statement of American foreign policy concerning this hemisphere—the United States has never been consistently conscious of the countries of Central and South America. We have always assumed the independence of these countries from domination or undue influence by European countries without realizing that our most powerful ally in preventing unwelcome developments has been the British fleet. Now that that fleet is threatened with destruction or loss, we are suddenly confronted with the possibility that the military and naval force of the United States alone may have to carry the burden of South American defense. Today we are much preoccupied with the problems of that continent as we try to represent ourselves to it as the Good Neighbor.

One of the most difficult problems in our relationships with South America centers around the fact that there is a wide difference between their culture and ours—a difference so great that understanding may be difficult to achieve. There seems to be no escape from the truth that Latin American culture looks more toward Europe than toward the United States, and that we are apt to be considered a strange people whose policy is made up of suspicious acts.

Among a constantly growing number of those who would interpret the people of the South America for us, Ybarra and Aikman have contributed readable and reliable books. The result of the present war may bring about a new discovery of Latin America—this time from the north.

1. COFFEE, STEAKS, AND BREAD

America Faces South, by T. R. Ybarra

From this book give a general picture of South America. Use concrete details, to make your picture as vivid as possible. Quote several passages to give something of the flavor of the book.

Point out the different attitudes of the various countries toward the U. S. Stress the ways in which American business men have helped or hindered our relations with South America. What does Ybarra think of Japanese and German penetration into various South American countries? Later you may compare these views with those of other authors.

2. IT SOUNDS DIFFERENT IN SPANISH

The All-American Front, by Duncan Aikman

What does Aikman consider our most difficult problem in cultivating good relationships with South America?

To what extent is poverty a problem in South America? Has the mining of metals proved profitable to the peoples?

Has Spanish culture been successful in maintaining itself? How does Don Tomas illustrate this?

What evidence do you see that politics in South America is highly personalized?

Does each country have a distinct character of its own? Does this lead to nationalism and to inter-continental problems and conflicts?

Is there any close relationship between the nature of South American dictatorships and those of Europe?

What conditions are included in the term "semi-colonials"?

Does Aikman believe in a future understanding between North and South America, or must force prevail?

Additional Reading:

South American Primer, by Katherine Carr.

Latin America, Its Place in World Life, by Samuel Inman.

South America, Past and Present, by L. C. Bollo.

America South, by Carleton Beals.

WILL THEY CO-OPERATE?

One of the most obvious factors in the problems of South America is the attraction of Europe for that region. The continent was settled in much the same way as North America by settlers from Europe, many of whom are of recent origin and still retain a degree of sympathy and attachment for the country from which they came. Large and compact groups of German and Italian extraction form islands of possible coöperation between their native countries and the country of their settlement in South America. The United States must watch with apprehension the activities of these old world countries as they compete with us for the favor of the new world states.

From the Pacific also comes a threat, though much less serious in nature. Japan has established vantage points of influence, and through her determination to supply the markets of the continent with the cheap goods that the masses demand is in a position to exert some pressure upon the South American countries.

It is not these external attractions alone that constitute the threat to the position we feel it necessary to assume, for inside these countries economic, political and social questions create points of strain that give openings to outside countries attempting to gain advantages for themselves. Nor must it be assumed that South America is united in its continental outlook, for wars and rivalries characterize the relationships of the countries of South America to each other. As we promote our national policy it must be with an awareness that the possession of force and the willingness to use it are at present trump cards in the game of diplomacy.

Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Beals present interesting and intelligent appraisals of the difficulties inherent in our problem of a revitalized Monroe Doctrine in a revitalized world.

1. EXTERNAL UNITY; INTERNAL RIVALRIES

Americas to the South, by John T. Whitaker

Does Whitaker think Germany, Italy and Japan very active in South America? Does this activity appear completely commercial or is it in part cultural and political?

What incidents does he give of South American resentment of outside exploitation?

Does the problem of the distribution of wealth in South America create any serious social and political problems?

What difficulties stand in the way of the United States in the cultivation of friendship with Argentina?

Is Brazil fascist? And Mexico "red"?

What does Whitaker recommend for our policy toward South and Central America?

2. TOO MANY SUITORS FOR SOUTH AMERICA

The Coming Struggle for Latin America, by Carleton Beals

What are the relationships of Japan to Latin America? of Germany? of Italy? In what ways do they differ from those of the United States?

What evidence does Beals offer that the traditional position of England in Latin America is shifting to her disadvantage?

To what extent has there been communist penetration?

The victory of Franco in Spain is apt to have what effect on Latin America?

How have we attempted to promote our interests in the countries to the south? What recommendations does Beals make?

What rôle is played by Argentina?

What were the purpose and results of the Lima conference?

Additional Reading:

His Majesty, the President of Brazil, by Ernest Hambloch.

See also readings listed under Chapter VII.

THE JAPANESE SUN OVER CHINA

Even before Hitler came to power in Germany events in eastern Asia had foretold the coming struggle for the redistribution of territory on a world basis. In 1931, Japanese troops established in Manchuria a puppet state for Japan which by this act resurrected a policy she had been forced to give up just after the completion of the first world war. In the disturbance of the *status quo* in eastern Asia the American doctrines of the "open door" policy and the maintenance of the territorial integrity of China were brought seriously into question. It is possible that our failure to act at that time may have consequences for us almost as serious as those visited upon France when that country failed to prevent the remilitarization of the Rhineland.

Since 1931, Americans and their government have watched the Japanese attempt to dominate China, hoping that some delayed miracle would save us from the discomfort of a shift in power in the Pacific region. The formation of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis has proved the cold water shock to waken us to the fact that in history miracles are wrought, but they seldom come to those who merely wish. Today American policy in the Pacific is as important to us as American policy in the Atlantic, for we find ourselves in the position that good diplomacy always seeks to avoid: threatened simultaneously on two fronts.

The history of our relationships with the Far East over the past ten years is clearly set forth by Mr. Bisson, while John Gunther in his companion volume to *Inside Europe* gives many revealing glimpses of life and policy in Japan and China.

1. YELLOW, BROWN AND WHITE

Inside Asia, by John Gunther

We are mainly concerned with the portion of the book up to p. 331.

The position of the Emperor in Japan reveals what traits of Japanese people and state?

To what extent is Japanese culture an imitative culture? What economic disadvantages beset the Japanese people?

How would you characterize the Japanese government? What part is played by the army and navy? The nobility? The wealthy families?

What is Russia's relationship to south-eastern Asia?

What are the outstanding differences between the Chinese and Japanese cultures?

To what extent has China been exploited by outsiders?

Describe the character and ability of Chiang kai-Shek?

What is the meaning of "face"?

What are the advantages that each side holds in the present war?

How is Singapore a key to the southeastern coast of Asia?

2. THUNDER IN THE FAR EAST

American Policy in the Far East: 1931-1940, by T. A. Bisson

Trace the development of the "open door" doctrine.

In what way did Japan use the World War, 1914-1918, to increase her power in eastern Asia? Did the United States take any hand in the limitation of that power during the 1920's?

Japan resumed her policy of aggression in 1931. What part has been played in that problem by the following: Manchuria? Chinese nationalism? Naval limitations? Trade opportunities?

Do the Philippines figure in any way in the difficulties between Japan and the United States?

Indicate the effects of the Munich agreement upon the Far East.

Have we through our trade aided Japan in her war against China?

What new direction does American policy seem to be taking?

Additional Reading:

The Real Conflict Between China and Japan, by Harley MacNair.

Japan in China, by T. A. Bisson.

Japan Over Asia, by W. H. Chamberlin.

Japan's Case Examined, by Westel W. Willoughby.

THE UNITED STATES MUST DECIDE

The situation to the west, to the east and to the south of us has been surveyed. Now we turn back to America. What does all this mean for us? We wonder immediately whether or not the United States has any responsibility for the situation in which we find the world. More important yet, we ask what is to be learned from the mistakes of the past in regard to our policy for the future. Danger is already here, menacing us from two directions. American foreign policy is faced with difficult problems. We must decide on a clear course of action.

* Raymond Leslie Buell, distinguished author and lecturer, President of the Foreign Policy Association, has long been an interested and qualified observer of foreign affairs. His book, *Isolated America*, is certainly anything but a plea for isolation. He discusses not only our responsibility for mistakes in the past but also our stake in the future. Europe, the Orient, and South America are all considered in the policy Mr. Buell sets forth for the United States as a world power.

Though Mr. Buell has indicated the lines of American foreign policy, past and future, as he sees it, he says little about the way in which decisions are arrived at in the State Department. Two Washington correspondents, Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner, have presented this side of the story for the period from the Munich agreement to the spring of 1940. Their personal, almost chatty accounts of the way in which the policy-makers work supplement the usual story and add greatly to the interest in foreign policy. Yet their book also reflects concern over the choices which lie ahead.

1. THE RÔLE THAT WE HAVE PLAYED

Isolated America, by Raymond Leslie Buell

What causes does Buell see for the present war? Is our country interested in or identified with these causes in any way?

What part did we play in world politics during the 1920's? Was our neutrality position and neutrality legislation in keeping with fact or merely wishful thinking?

How does the situation in the Orient combine with that in Europe to create a threat to the world position of the United States?

Discuss the importance of South America to us. Is the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine a necessary policy for this country?

What assets do we have for the support of a strong policy in international relations? Do we as a nation have any responsibility to use our power?

Toward what end does Buell look as a proper objective for American policy?

2. EAVESDROPPING IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT

American White Paper, by Joseph Alsop and Robert Kintner

The special value of this book lies mainly in the picture it gives of the way foreign policy is made and the personalities of the "policy-makers." Bring out as much of this personal approach as you can. Follow through the story chronologically keeping in mind the following suggestions:

How do you suppose such confidential material was secured?

At various points the authors discuss alternate schemes for foreign policy which were rejected through necessity or choice. Do you think the choices have been wise ones?

Stress the rôle of public opinion.

Follow through the "Four great decisions" in regard to American policy.

Discuss carefully the alternate policies for the future. Include the postscript in this discussion, for it contains much valuable material.

Additional Reading:

A Foreign Policy for America, by Charles A. Beard.

PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE

The United States has been a favored part of the world. During our national existence we have had to give but little of our time and resources to the problem of protecting ourselves from others. Our bloodiest war was the one we fought among ourselves.

Suddenly all this seems to change. The Atlantic and Pacific no longer hold the world at arms length and we are called upon to look to the preservation of our nation and its influences in the world. This summons to national action is based upon the assumption that our security is no longer invulnerable from attack, and every American is called to know and understand the elements in modern life that have changed our condition for the worse.

War and preparation for war are obviously technical questions that the layman would find it difficult to comprehend. Yet it is a responsibility of citizenship in a democracy for the citizen to know the general principles upon which our national defense must be based. There can no longer be the slightest doubt that national policy and the armed force of the nation should be complementary—else neither will be able to prevail in the world that is about us.

In the two books selected for this chapter, Major Eliot considers the problem of defense primarily as it is concerned with air power, while Mr. Hartley approaches the question from the point of view of the importance of territorial distribution and our influence upon regions possessing special significance for us.

1. GEOGRAPHY AND THE PROBLEM OF WAR

Our Maginot Line, by Livingstone Hartley

What rewards does Hartley believe would come to Germany through a victory over England? If these assumptions are true, is the war merely a European war?

How have distance and history protected the United States in the past?

Comment on the relationship of South America to our security.

Does the continent of Africa play any part in the defense of South America? What of the Atlantic islands?

What difficulties could we expect in maintaining South American countries as our allies?

In what way must we consider the defense of the Pacific a part of the problem of national defense?

List the possibilities of action described by the author along with the disadvantages of each. Why a "two ocean navy"?

What conditions are essential to a policy of defense through coöperation?

The author makes what final conclusion as to the most advisable policy for this country?

2. WINGS OVER THE AMERICAS

Bombs Bursting in Air, by George Fielding Eliot

What is the purpose of war? How is this purpose achieved?

Describe the special conditions surrounding the use of air power? What are the precautions against its use?

What constitutes superiority in the air? What are its advantages?

How does Eliot describe the assets and liabilities of the countries at war?

What does air power mean to the United States? From what points could this country be attacked and how could the attack best be met?

Does the author make definite recommendations for American air strength?

Additional Reading:

M-Day and What It Means To You, by Leo. M. Cherne.

Mobilizing Civilian America, by Harold J. Tobin and P. W. Bidwell.

The Ramparts We Watch, by George Fielding Eliot.

THE CHALLENGE—AS SOME SEE IT

The world situation is admittedly gloomy. Few thinking persons would deny that there is cause for serious concern on the part of all Americans. The horrors of war as relayed by radio and newsreel remind us of what may happen here. The collapse of France as a great power is full of lessons for America. Germany proclaims in bold terms her intention of pursuing a ruthless course of aggression. Japan now threatens in the east and South American countries are by no means unswerving in their friendship for the United States.

Yet in all this gloomy picture there is room for hope for America and the world—hope, that is, if America faces the situation bravely, strengthens her diplomatic position abroad, and seeks to pursue a course of leadership. Courage is needed and much faith—faith in the principles of democracy and freedom, faith in the triumph of right over might, faith in our own destiny. A moral and spiritual resurgence is necessary, as is a unified national will.

Many distinguished Americans are concerned with these problems and are thinking and writing about ways to combat the forces that would seek to destroy us. William Allen White has collected a series of articles by some of these men on various aspects of defense for America. Written from different points of view they typify what serious American thinkers are writing and saying.

As a final conclusion we come back to Lewis Mumford, with whom we began. Then Mumford was concerned with action; now he writes of faith, *Faith for Living*. In it he speaks of such intangibles as values, religion, and the American way of life. Forceful and vigorous, his book is a challenge to the American public.

1. FROM EVERY ANGLE

Defense for America, edited by William Allen White

On what basis does White justify the publication of this series of articles?

What methods of war and diplomacy by the dictatorships are described by Wright?

What are the qualities and values of our national life that are endangered from Europe?

Are we in any way responsible for what has happened in the world?

What is the significance of the phrase used by Graham "the freedom to struggle for freedom"?

Does there seem to be any basis in fact for the slogan "to defend America by aiding the Allies"?

2. ONE MAN'S BELIEF

Faith for Living, by Lewis Mumford

State as clearly as possible the author's conception of the crisis that faces the "American way of life."

The way in which a mechanized world prepares man for fascist society is not often discussed. Give Mumford's views of this. Do you consider them valid?

What is his attitude toward the Christian Church? What recommendations does he make for a revitalization of Christianity and a unified Church?

Is his indictment of the "liberal" a fair one? Does he reconcile to your satisfaction the use of force as a necessary instrument of reason?

Are you influenced by the author's conception of the rôle of "values" in making society a coöperative venture in spiritual experience?

Does the program of family, region and self constitute an adequate basis for the reconstruction of our national life? How does the author avoid the possible charge that his program is fascistic in nature?

Do you believe that as a people we have the inner resources necessary for a long national policy based on sacrifice?

Additional Reading:

It is Later Than You Think, by Max Lerner.

The American Choice, by Henry A. Wallace.

SPECIAL REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Numerals refer to chapters in which books are used)

Aikman, Duncan	<i>The All-American Front.</i> 1940. (7)	Doubleday	\$3.50
Alsop & Kintner	<i>American White Paper.</i> 1940. (10)	Simon	1.00
Beals, Carleton	<i>Coming Struggle for South America.</i> 1939. (8)	Halcyon	1.39
Bisson, T. A.	<i>American Policy in the Far East.</i> 1940. (9)	Institute	1.25
Boothe, Clare	<i>Europe in the Spring.</i> 1940. (5)	Knopf	2.50
Buell, R. L.	<i>Isolated America.</i> 1940. (10)	Knopf	3.00
Bullitt, W. C.	<i>Report to the American People.</i> 1940. (1)	Houghton	.50
Eliot, G. F.	<i>Bombs Bursting in Air.</i> 1939. (11)	Reynal	1.75
Fisher, H. A. L.	<i>Background and Issues of War.</i> 1940. (2)	Oxford	2.00
Gunther, John	<i>Inside Asia.</i> 1940. (9)	Harper	3.50
Hartley, Livingston	<i>Our Maginot Line.</i> 1939. (11)	Carrick	2.75
Kennedy, J. F.	<i>Why England Slept.</i> 1940. (6)	Funk	2.00
MacLeish, Archibald	<i>Irresponsibles.</i> 1940. (1)	Duell	1.00
Maurois, André	<i>Tragedy of France.</i> 1940. (5)	Harper	2.00
Millis, Walter	<i>Why Europe Fights.</i> 1940. (2)	Morrow	2.50
Mumford, Lewis	<i>Faith for Living.</i> 1940. (12)	Harcourt	2.00
Mumford, Lewis	<i>Men Must Act.</i> 1940. (1)	Harcourt	1.50
Rauschning, Hermann	<i>Voice of Destruction.</i> 1940. (4)	Putnam	2.75
Stoddard, Lothrop	<i>Into the Darkness.</i> 1940. (3)	Duell	2.75
Taylor, Edmond	<i>Strategy of Terror.</i> 1940. (5)	Houghton	2.50
Tolischus, O. D.	<i>They Wanted War.</i> 1940. (3)	Reynal	3.00
Whitaker, John	<i>Americas to the South.</i> 1940 (8)	Macmillan	2.50
White, W. A.	<i>Defense for America.</i> 1940. (12)	Macmillan	1.00
Wolfe, H. C.	<i>The Imperial Soviets.</i> 1940. (4)	Doubleday	2.50
Wolfers, Arnold	<i>Britain and France Between Two Wars.</i> 1940. (6)	Harcourt	3.75
Ybarra, T. R.	<i>America Faces South.</i> 1939. (7)	Dodd	3.00

DIRECTORY OF PUBLISHERS

The following publishers have books listed in this outline and opportunity is here taken to thank those who have generously given us review copies of the books here used and recommended.

Carrick & Evans, Inc., 20 E. 57th St., New York.
Dodd, Mead & Co., 449 Fourth Ave., New York.
Doubleday, Doran & Co., 14 W. 49th St., New York.
Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc., 270 Madison Ave., New York.
Funk (Wilfred), Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York.
Halcyon House, 14 W. 49th St., New York.
Harcourt, Brace & Co., 383 Madison Ave., New York.
Harper & Bros., 49 E. 33rd St., New York.
Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 Park St., Boston, Mass.
Institute of Pacific Relations, 129 E. 57th St., New York.
Knopf (Alfred A.), Inc., 501 Madison Ave., New York.
Lippincott (J. B.) Co., 227 S. 6th St., Philadelphia.
Macmillan Co., 60 Fifth Ave., New York.
Morrow (William) & Co., 386 Fourth Ave., New York.
Oxford University Press, 114 Fifth Ave., New York.
Putnam's (G. P.) Sons, 2 W. 45th St., New York.
Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York.
Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1230 Sixth Ave., New York.

ADDITIONAL READING BIBLIOGRAPHY

Angell, Norman	<i>For What Do We Fight?</i> 1939. (6)	Harper	\$2.50
Beals, Carleton	<i>America South.</i> 1937. (7)	Lippincott	3.50
Beard, C. A.	<i>A Foreign Policy for America.</i> 1940. (10)	Knopf	1.50
Bisson, T. A.	<i>Japan in China.</i> 1938. (9)	Macmillan	3.00
Bollo, L. C.	<i>South America, Past and Present.</i> 1919. (7)		o. p.
Carr, Katherine	<i>South American Primer.</i> 1939. (7)	Reynal	1.35
Chamberlin, W. H.	<i>Japan Over Asia.</i> 1939. (9)	Little	3.50
Cherne, L. M.	<i>M-Day.</i> 1940. (11)	Simon	1.00
Churchill, Winston	<i>While England Slept.</i> 1938. (6)	Putnam	4.00
Eliot, G. F.	<i>The Ramparts We Watch.</i> 1938. (11)	Reynal	3.00
Garratt, G. L.	<i>What Has Happened to Europe?</i> 1940. (2)	Bobbs	2.75
Gibbs, Philip	<i>Ordeal in England.</i> 1937. (6)	Doubleday	3.00
Gunther, John	<i>Inside Europe.</i> 1940. (2)	Harper	3.50
Hambloch, Ernest	<i>His Majesty, the President of Brazil.</i> 1936. (8)	Dutton	3.00
Hitler, Adolf	<i>Mein Kampf.</i> 1939. (4)	Reynal	1.89
Lerner, Max	<i>It Is Later Than You Think.</i> 1938. (12)	Viking	2.50
Lichtenberger, Henri	<i>The Third Reich.</i> 1937. (3)	Greystone	3.00
MacNair, H. F.	<i>Real Conflict Between China and Japan.</i> 1938. (9)	Chicago	2.00
Mosley, L. O.	<i>Europe Downstream.</i> 1940. (2)	Doubleday	2.75
Orton, W. A.	<i>Twenty Years' Armistice, 1918-1938.</i> 1938. (2)	Farrar	2.50
Rauschnig, Hermann	<i>Revolution of Nihilism.</i> 1939. (4)	Alliance	3.00
Rauschenbush, H. S.	<i>The March of Fascism.</i> 1939. (4)	Yale	3.00
Roberts, S. H.	<i>The House that Hitler Built.</i> 1938. (3)	Harper	3.00
Simone, André	<i>J'Accuse!</i> 1940. (5)	Dial	2.50
Strasser, Otto	<i>Hitler and I.</i> 1940. (3)	Houghton	2.50
Tobin & Bidwell	<i>Mobilizing Civilian America.</i> 1940. (11)	Council on Foreign Rel.	2.75
Wallace, H. A.	<i>The American Choice.</i> 1940. (12)	Reynal	1.00
Werth, Alexander	<i>Which Way France?</i> 1937. (15)	Harper	o. p.
Willoughby, W. W.	<i>Japan's Case Examined.</i> 1940. (9)	Hopkins	2.50
Wolfe, H. C.	<i>The German Octopus.</i> 1938. (3)	Doubleday	2.50

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

First Meeting: CALL FOR ACTION

1. The Failure of Intellectual Leadership
2. Salvation through Action
3. Testimony of an Eye-Witness

Second Meeting: FROM WAR TO WAR

1. The Twenty Year Pause
2. The Case for England

Third Meeting: UNDER THE SWASTIKA

1. Leaders and Followers
2. The Revolution of Soldiers

Fourth Meeting: REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS IN TWENTIETH CENTURY EUROPE

1. The War on Western Culture
2. The Revolution that Lost its Way

Fifth Meeting: THE FAILURE OF FRANCE

1. "What Happened to France"
2. The Technique of the "War of Nerves"
3. A Tragic Drama

Sixth Meeting: THE BRITISH BLUNDERS

1. The Policy of Peace and Appeasement
2. Men Without Arms

Seventh Meeting: A GOOD NEIGHBOR GOES CALLING

1. Coffee, Steaks and Bread
2. It Sounds Different in Spanish

Eighth Meeting: WILL THEY CO-OPERATE?

1. External Unity; Internal Rivalries
2. Too Many Suitors for South America

Ninth Meeting: THE JAPANESE SUN OVER CHINA

1. Yellow, Brown and White
2. Thunder in the Far East

Tenth Meeting: THE UNITED STATES MUST DECIDE

1. The Rôle that We Have Played
2. Eavesdropping in the State Department

Eleventh Meeting: PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE

1. Geography and the Problem of War
2. Wings Over the Americas

Twelfth Meeting: THE CHALLENGE—AS SOME SEE IT

1. From Every Angle
2. One Man's Belief

